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THE RESTORATION OF THE LOWER CLASS MALE AS HOUSEHOLD HEAD--SUPPORT FOR THE MOYNIHAN THESIS.

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FOR THE LOWER CLASS NEGRO MALE TO BE RESTORED AS HOUSEHOLD HEAD, AS THE MOYNIHAN REPORT RECOMMENDS, HE MUST OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT WHICH PERMITS HIM TO BE THE ONLY FAMILY BREADWINNER. CONSIDERING THE DISTINCTIVE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THE NEGRO FAMILY HAS HAD TO FACE, AND THE WEAKENING EFFECTS OF ITS MATRIARCHAL ORIENTATION, AMONG NEGROES FEMALE CONTENTION FOR THIS TRADITIONALLY MASCULINE ROLE OF BREADWINNER HAS ESPECIALLY NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS. TO STUDY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A MAN'S POSITION AS WAGE EARNER AND HIS FAMILY PARTICIPATION, INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH 122 WHITE, AND 46 NEGRO, LOW-INCOME MARRIED MALES LIVING WITH THEIR FAMILIES. THE INTERVIEWS REVEALED THAT, ALTHOUGH NO SUCH SYSTEMATIC TREND EMERGES FOR THE WHITE GROUP, AMONG THE NEGRO SAMPLE GROUPS THERE IS A NEGATIVE CORRELATION BETWEEN THE WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT AND THE HUSBAND-FATHER'S PARTICIPATION IN THE FAMILY. EXPERIMENTAL CONTROL OF POSSIBLE CONFOUNDING FACTORS SUCH AS FAMILY SIZE, AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD, AND SIZE OF HUSBAND'S INCOME DID NOT SIGNIFICANTLY REVERSE THIS TREND, ALTHOUGH IN LARGE NEGRO FAMILIES THE MALE DID PARTICIPATE MORE, CONVERSE WITH HIS WIFE MORE FREQUENTLY ABOUT FAMILY PROBLEMS, AND BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN FAMILY DECISION-MAKING. FAMILY SIZE SIMILARLY AFFECTED THE WHITE MALE'S ACCEPTING OF HIS HUSBAND-FATHER RESPONSIBILITIES. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO CONSISTENT TENDENCY FOR THE WHITE FAMILY, WITH ITS HISTORICAL PATTERN OF MALE DOMINANCE, TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED BY THE WIFE-MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT. (LB)

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THE RESTORATION OF THE LOWER CLASS MALE AS HOUSEHOLD HEAD: SUPPORT FOR THE MOYNIHAN THESIS*

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THE RESTORATION OF THE LOWER CLASS MALE AS HOUSEHOLD HEAD: SUPPORT FOR THE MOYNIHAN THESIS*

At the conclusion of his report, The Negro Family, Moynihan writes, "The fundamental importance and urgency of restoring the Negro American Family structure has been evident for some time."[1] He, of course, devotes a major portion of the monograph to documenting the abdication of Negro lower income males from husband-father responsibilities and the pathology in the next generation associated with father-absence. He points out that in 1960, 21 per cent of nonwhite families were headed by women,[2] as contrasted with nine per cent among white families, and that youths from such homes do more poorly in school, drop out earlier,[3] and have higher delinquency rates.[4] He also quotes the Blood and Wolfe study findings to the effect that the lower income male who is occupying the husband-father position participates less in decision-making and task performance with this being particularly marked among Negroes.[5] He believes as do Rainwater,[6] Hauser,[7] and others[8] that employment opportunities for men are essential if the Negro family is to be strengthened.

The argument goes that in our society the man is supposed to be the head of the house. Even in middle-class families where a premium is placed on equalitarian relations, women as well as men appear more satisfied with an arrangement in which the husband-father is the final authority. The primary reason for this situation is that over the years men have been the instrumental leaders providing the economic means for the physical maintenance of the family. The woman's sphere has been in the home, caring for the children and keeping her family clothed and fed with the means provided by her husband. In such a society, a man's self-respect and his position in the family rest heavily on his ability to earn a living. This is especially true in the lower class where conjugal role organization in both the stable, working upper-lower level and the disorganized lower-lower level tends to be segregated.[9] The man is the breadwinner; the wife is responsible for the household. This complementary division of labor breaks down when women

must go to work to supplement their husbands' small earnings or to supply their families' economic support when their husbands are unemployed. Men change from economic leaders to co-equals or to dependents.

Especially for Negroes this status downgrading has unfavorable consequences for family stability. The men with time on their hands engage in extra-marital affairs, drink or become involved with their peers at the expense of family responsibilities. Wives perceiving themselves as able to support the family as well as their husbands also start running around, and if the husbands are unemployed refuse to continue the marriage with a man they must support.[10] As a result, separation, desertion and divorce often accompany the male's underemployment or job loss.

The implications of this argument for economic policy are considerable, but its critics have reserved their polemics for the causal implications they see in the description of family breakdown. They argue that the Moynihan Report can be read as locating the cause of the Negro family's plight within itself rather than in external economic and social discrimination.[11] Both camps are in agreement, however, that the abdication of the Negro male from family responsibilities slows the race's progress toward integration. And they agree with Edwin C. Berry of the Urban League that "there is no way to strengthen family life among Negroes until we find a way to give the father his rightful role as breadwinner and protector of his family."[12] Certainly it makes more sense and better social policy to deal with family disorganization through economic strategies than to try to affect each family directly.

Yet the evidence linking employment to the man's playing his husband-father roles is scanty. Because of the dearth of research in the area, Moynihan was forced to use Census data to demonstrate the relation. He noted that the rate of nonwhite male unemployment tended to precede similar trends in the per cent of nonwhite married women separated from their husbands, and the number of new

Aid to Families with Dependent Children cases which are heavily weighted with nonwhite families.[13] The impact of these data is weakened because of the necessity of inferring that correlations existing between variables within groups hold for individuals. In such cases of ecological correlation,[14] we have no way of determining whether, for example, husbands separated from their families in a year's time as reported by the Census are the same husbands who experience unemployment in that year. The other main body of evidence derives from studies done during the Depression years of the 1930's, a period of pervasive unemployment not directly comparable with today's spotty joblessness. There also exist anecdotal and case history support for the argument, but there is comparatively little direct evidence showing a relationship between the man's position as wage earner and his family participation. My report represents an attempt to remedy the situation.

SAMPLE AND METHOD

An interview study of low income married males living with their families in the Minneapolis, Minnesota area presented the opportunity to examine the effect of their wives' employment on these husband-fathers' acceptance of family responsibilities. According to the economic argument, the man's holding a job is essential to his restoration as family head with the attendant prestige and respect from wife and children that will encourage him to accept accompanying responsibilities. In support of this argument, the study has already demonstrated that the size of the man's income as adjusted to family size is positively related to his power and household task performance.[15] But I was interested in determining whether the man's having a contender for the position of family breadwinner in the person of his wife would have negative consequences for his assuming the roles of household head. The rigid division of labor between husband and wife within the lower class suggests that the wife's employment would constitute a serious threat to the man's family status. Given the strong matriarchal tradition

within the Negro family and the fact that women can earn much the same amount as their lower class husbands, the wife's working outside the home may well result in the male's occupying a peripheral family position and abdicating his responsibilities. When the man is the sole provider, his wife is prepared to overlook his shortcomings and reward any concern he shows for his family. A positive reinforcement cycle of participation, reward and further participation is set up, drawing the man into ever-deeper involvement in family activities. The wife who works, however, is less dependent on her husband for economic support, his primary role in the family, has less to reward him for, and so provides little incentive for him to involve himself in family activities. Even if the wife attempts to encourage his participation, the husband himself, unsure of his status in the family, since he has a competitor for the title of provider, may withdraw from family tasks and decisions. If this is the case, it provides pursuasive evidence of the necessity for the lower class male's being undisputed economic head of the household if he is to perform other husband-father functions.

Since the sample consisted of 122 white men as well as 46 Negroes, I could examine the relationship within both races. The respondents lived in five census tracts that were lower class residential areas as indicated by their comparative rankings on income, education, unemployment and occupation.[15] The names of the men were obtained from an area probability sample of three census tracts and the remainder came from a random sample of father-present, blue collar families having children in public schools serving the area.[16] Both whites and Negroes possessed many of the characteristics traditionally used as indicators of lower class socioeconomic status.[17] In educational achievement, 33 of 46 Negroes and 90 of 122 whites had not finished high school. An additional three Negroes and 22 whites not used in the analyses reported here were unemployed, and 25 Negroes and 42 whites were laborer or service workers according to U.S. Census occupational categories. There were 15 Negro and 50 white operatives. The respondents, however, simply by the fact that they were employed and living with their families repre-

sented the more stable family element among lower class men.[18] Such a sample, accordingly, provides a more rigorous test of the hypothesized association between the husband's fulfilling family responsibilities and the wife's working only within the home.

The long, semi-structured interviews produced indications of a man's family participation in several areas. The extent to which the husband talked with his wife about a range of problems served as one communication measure.[19] Similar data were available concerning the man's report of his wife's communication with him.[20] There were also several indicators of how much the husband engaged in household[21] and child care tasks.[22] In addition, there were data on how much the husband helped in making a number of decisions required in family living.[23] In all the family participation indexes, higher scores indicate greater husband participation.

FINDINGS ON WIVES' EMPLOYMENT

When the wives of the men in the sample were separated into those who were employed outside the home and those who were full-time housewives, 18 of the 46 Negro wives, 39 per cent, and 45 of the 122 white wives, 37 per cent, were employed outside the home. The greatest difference between the two groups lay in the proportion holding full-time regular employment. As could be expected, given the lower earnings of the Negro males,[24] more of the Negro women were so employed. Thirteen, or 28 per cent, as compared with 24, or 20 per cent, of the white wives were working full time. For the analyses to be reported here, I have grouped into one category wives who were engaged in any sort of gainful employment outside the home. This strategy, besides increasing the number of employed women, provides a more rigorous test of the hypothesis. If the relation between amount of wife's outside employment and the husband's participation in the family is a negative, linear one, placing part-time, regular workers and part-time occasional workers with full-time workers should decrease possible differences in

the participation scores of men whose wives are employed outside the home and men whose wives are not.

The first analysis of the data consists simply of comparing the white and Negro men's extent of functioning as family head when their wives are and are not employed. The trend of the results supports the hypothesis among Negroes. Men whose wives are working perform fewer family tasks. They also leave more family decisions to their wives to make, even though their wives have asked for advice

Table I about here

more recently, a dimension tapped by the second decision-making indicator where the men had higher scores. As a result, working wives who have the double load of home and occupation receive less assistance with family responsibilities than do full-time home makers. Only in the area of communication, are these husbands more active. They report telling their wives more often of their concerns and perceive themselves as listening somewhat more often to their wives' problems than do Negro men who have no competitors in their role as family breadwinner.

The results for the white men show no clear trend, reflecting the more secure position as economic provider the white husband-father has traditionally enjoyed. Men with employed wives have no occupation outside the home. Also, contrary to the situation existing among the Negro families, white working wives are reported by their husbands as somewhat less likely to tell their husbands of their problems than is true of the full-time housewives.

FAMILY SIZE AND OTHER CONTROLS

But it might be argued that the persuasiveness of the evidence supporting the hypothesis that the man's filling the breadwinner role for his family is essential for his accepting the responsibilities of family head is weak. Factors other than the wife's employment status can account for the results. Wives employed outside the home, for example, may have fewer children or older children, and in either case they would need less assistance to keep the family functioning.

TABLE I

LOWER CLASS MALES' FAMILY PARTICIPATION AS RELATED TO RACE AND WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	Negroes				Whites			
	Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Task Performance I	1.5	(18)	1.9	(28)	1.4	(45)	1.5	(77)
Task Performance II	3.8	(18)	4.2	(27)	4.1	(40)	4.0	(62)
Task Performance-Boys	5.5	(15)	6.0	(24)	6.4	(34)	6.2	(53)
Task Performance-Girls	5.3	(14)	5.8	(22)	6.2	(31)	6.1	(50)
Decision Making I	1.5	(17)	2.0	(28)[1]	1.8	(45)	1.9	(76)
Decision Making II	5.0	(17)	4.7	(28)	5.1	(45)	4.4	(75)[2]
Communication-Husbands	3.0	(18)	2.8	(28)	2.5	(45)	2.5	(73)
Communication-Wives	3.2	(18)	3.0	(28)	2.8	(45)	3.0	(75)

[1] $F_{1, 41} = 5.69$; $P < .05$

[2] $F_{1, 116} = 4.92$; $P < .05$

Fortunately, the sample was large enough to control for size of family and age of children in analyzing the data.

For the family size analysis, I divided the men within each racial group into those having three or fewer and those having four or more children living at home, and then made the wife employed and unemployed break. The results continue to lend support to the argument that the Negro male's role as breadwinner is crucial

Table II about here

to his assuming family responsibilities. Both within large and small families, the men report themselves as being more active in performing usual household tasks and decisions when they alone are breadwinners. Within the larger families, however, though not in the smaller families, men whose wives are employed say they perform more household tasks not included in the list scored in the first decision-making index and were asked for help more recently by their wives. Thus they have higher average scores on the second household task indicator. This same group of men also continue to be asked for advice more recently by their wives who work outside the home than is true of men with larger families whose wives are full-time housewives. This difference favoring husbands with wives who are employed does not hold among the men with smaller families. Family size affects white males' accepting husband-father responsibilities. Men with larger families whose wives are employed and so in need of greater help generally are more active than husbands of wives who are less burdened.

When one controls for the effect of age of youngest child, the second possible confounding factor, there is one reversal of the negative relation between Negroes' family participation and their wives' employment outside the home. Men with at least one child who is under six and so not yet in school all day help more with their daughters as indicated by their average score on the Task performance-Girls Index when their wives are employed. The previous finding showing greater activity on the second decision-making indicators among husbands whose wives are employed also appears to be true of men with younger children, but not of men with older

TABLE II

LOWER CLASS MALES' FAMILY PARTICIPATION AS RELATED TO RACE, WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME

	Negroes								Whites							
	Three or Fewer Children				Four or More Children				Three or Fewer Children				Four or More Children			
	Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Task Performance I	1.5	(12)	1.9	(12)	1.5	(6)	1.9	(16)	1.5	(27)	1.5	(44)	1.3	(18)	1.4	(33)
Task Performance II	4.0	(12)	4.5	(12)	4.2	(5)	3.9	(15)	4.1	(23)	3.9	(34)	4.3	(16)	4.3	(26)
Task Performance-Boys	5.9	(9)	6.4	(9)	4.8	(6)	5.7	(15)	6.3	(18)	6.0	(27)	6.5	(16)	6.4	(26)
Task Performance-Girls	5.6	(8)	6.8	(9)	4.8	(6)	5.2	(13)	6.1	(15)	6.2	(25)	6.3	(16)	6.0	(25)
Decision Making I	1.5	(11)	2.0	(12)	1.6	(6)	2.1	(16)	1.8	(27)	2.0	(43)	1.8	(18)	1.7	(33)
Decision Making II	4.8	(12)	4.9	(12)	5.4	(5)	4.5	(16)	4.8	(27)	4.7	(42)	5.4	(18)	3.9	(33)
Communication-Husbands	2.9	(12)	3.0	(12)	3.2	(6)	2.6	(16)	2.7	(27)	2.5	(41)	2.3	(18)	2.6	(32)
Communication-Wives	3.2	(12)	3.2	(12)	3.4	(6)	2.9	(16)	2.9	(27)	3.0	(42)	2.8	(18)	2.9	(33)

children. Communication of problems continues to be higher in couples both of whom are employed, except among men with older children. They tend to tell their wives their troubles to about the same extent regardless of their wives' employment status. Other than this, men whose wives are employed continue to be less active in performing household tasks, and child care with sons, regardless of the age of their children. Among the white men, there is little difference in task performance about the house between husbands of wives who are working out-

Table III about here

side the home and husbands of those who are not, regardless of the age of the youngest child. The decision-making differences tend to favor the men whose wives are working, and so would be needing more help. Men with children over six, moreover, tell their wives more of their problems and in turn hear more of theirs when the wives have outside jobs, a change from the findings presented in Table I.

It was also possible to analyze the data controlling for size of husbands' income. I made the income break between men who earned less than $20 for each family member per week and those who earned $20 or more. The results among higher income Negroes and whites are consistent with the previous results. Negroes providing $20 or more weekly for each family member are more accepting

Table IV about here

of household responsibilities when their wives have no occupational interest outside the home. Men, however, in the lower income per family member category whose wives are employed help with their daughters but not their sons more, have wives who asked them for advice and help more recently and report themselves as performing more family duties not specifically listed in the first task performance index. Within the white income groups men whose wives are employed are generally more active in family affairs.

CONCLUSIONS

It appears, therefore, that for this sample of blue collar Negroes, 90 per

TABLE XIX

LOWER CLASS MALES' FAMILY PARTICIPATION AS RELATED TO RACE, WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD

	Negroes								Whites							
	Five and Younger				Six and Older				Five and Younger				Six and Older			
	Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Task Performance I	1.6	(9)	1.9	(17)	1.4	(9)	1.9	(11)	1.4	(19)	1.5	(45)	1.4	(24)	1.5	(32)
Task Performance II	4.0	(9)	4.2	(16)	3.7	(9)	4.0	(11)	4.0	(17)	4.1	(37)	3.9	(21)	3.7	(25)
Task Performance-Boys	6.0	(8)	6.6	(14)	4.9	(7)	5.2	(10)	6.9	(15)	6.6	(32)	6.0	(19)	5.6	(21)
Task Performance-Girls	6.4	(7)	6.1	(14)	4.1	(7)	5.4	(8)	6.3	(15)	6.1	(35)	6.2	(16)	5.9	(15)
Decision Meking I	1.3	(9)	2.1	(17)	1.6	(9)	1.9	(11)	1.9	(19)	1.8	(45)	1.7	(24)	1.9	(32)
Decision Making II	5.1	(9)	4.6	(17)	4.3	(9)	4.8	(11)	5.2	(19)	4.6	(45)	5.0	(24)	3.7	(32)
Communication-Husbands	3.0	(9)	2.6	(17)	3.0	(9)	3.0	(11)	2.2	(19)	2.4	(45)	2.8	(24)	2.3	(32)
Communication-Wives	3.3	(9)	3.0	(17)	3.2	(9)	2.9	(11)	2.6	(19)	3.0	(45)	3.0	(24)	2.8	(32)

TABLE IV

LOWER CLASS MALES' FAMILY PARTICIPATION AS RELATED TO RACE, WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND HUSBAND'S INCOME PER FAMILY MEMBER

	Negroes								Whites							
	Less than $20 per family member				$20 or more per family member				Less than $20 per family member				$20 or more per family member			
	Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed		Wives Employed		Wives Unemployed	
	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N	$\bar{X}$	N
Task Performance I	1.5	(8)	1.8	(16)	1.4	(10)	2.0	(12)	1.3	(19)	1.5	(35)	1.6	(23)	1.6	(41)
Task Performance II	4.1	(8)	3.8	(16)	3.6	(10)	4.6	(11)	4.1	(17)	4.2	(26)	4.0	(22)	3.9	(36)
Task Performance-Boys	5.3	(7)	5.6	(16)	5.6	(8)	6.8	(8)	6.4	(17)	6.2	(25)	6.4	(17)	6.3	(27)
Task Performance-Girls	5.4	(7)	5.1	(14)	5.1	(7)	7.1	(8)	6.1	(15)	5.6	(23)	6.3	(16)	6.4	(27)
Decision Making I	1.7	(8)	2.0	(16)	1.3	(10)	2.1	(12)	1.7	(19)	1.7	(35)	1.9	(23)	2.0	(41)
Decision Making II	4.8	(8)	4.4	(16)	4.7	(10)	5.0	(12)	5.0	(19)	4.1	(35)	5.1	(23)	4.4	(41)
Communication-Husbands	3.0	(8)	2.7	(16)	3.0	(10)	3.0	(12)	2.3	(19)	2.5	(35)	2.7	(23)	2.4	(41)
Communication-Wives	3.3	(8)	2.9	(16)	3.2	(10)	3.1	(12)	2.9	(19)	3.0	(35)	2.8	(23)	2.9	(41)

cent of whom--like the white men in the sample--have held the same job for over a year, their wives' employment status is related to the men's accepting family responsibilities. When wives work, husbands are less active in family affairs than when their wives have full-time to give to house and child care. Though the differences are not statistically significant, the trend of the findings are consistent even when various controls are applied. Having more than three children at home or children under six with the attendant increase in family responsibilities does increase the working wives' husbands participation but only on isolated measures do they surpass the performance of men whose wives do not have occupational preoccupations. Thus women who are in greatest need of husbands who will accept family responsibilities are less apt to have such husbands.

The one area in which Negro men whose wives share the breadwinner role appear to be more active is that of problem communication, the area of communication tapped by the communication indexes, an area where their wives also are more active. But this greater activity is consistent with the generally negative implications of Negro wives' employment for their husbands' family participation. The greater communication of problems may indicate tension release; it may also suggest a problem-centered conjugal relation which has given rise to or is the result of the wife's working. Either interpretation is consistent with the man's lesser involvement in family concerns which, in turn, adds to the number of problems his wife has to communicate. Among blue collar whites, the situation with regard to the wife's working is different. There appears to be no systematic tendency for husbands whose wives are employed to be less active in family roles. Their past history in the families in which they grew up has accustomed them to seeing the husband-father as chief breadwinner regardless of the wife-mother's employment status. Moreover, their own experience and that of their associates confirms the primacy of his performance of the provider role. They do not see their employed wives as contenders for this role and so as threatening the power basis for the men's functioning as household head.

The over-all results are the more interesting, because contrary to previous research results such as the Blood and Wolfe data described previously, the Negro men regardless of the employment status of their wives generally were as active in household affairs as the white men. This was true for the areas of task performance, communication, and to a lesser extent decision-making though not for child care. Apparently in this stable, working class sample, Negroes though accepting of their family responsibilities to the same extent as whites still maintained conjugal role segregation as far as child care was concerned. The child care indicators also show the negative effect on Negroes' family participation of the factor of family size. Men having four or more children at home regardless of the employment status of their wives do less to help with child rearing than do men with fewer children. Among Negroes whose wives are not employed, men with fewer children also assist more with household tasks according to the scores on both task performance indexes.

The significance of the findings, however, lies in the support they contribute to those who see employment as essential for making the lower-class Negro male a functioning household head.[25] It appears that even when they are employed, having a contender for the position of economic provider in the person of their wives, cuts down on the men's performance of family responsibilities. When the wife through no choice of her own but because her husband is unemployed takes over the provider role, this study's findings suggest that the man will be even less active in the family to the point that he abdicates his position as household head. And this, of course, is what the Moynihan Report argues. That the importance of not only employment but employment that permits the male to be the only provider for the family stems from the distinctive historical circumstances the Negro family has had to face, is apparent from the finding that employment of white, lower class wives has not had systematic, negative consequences for their husband's accepting family responsibilities. Until the time, therefore, when the Negro male enjoys the unthreatened position as household head his white counterpart takes for

granted, the focus of intervention attempts to improve the lot of the Negro family should be on men and their work. For the Negro man as husband-father appears to presuppose the Negro man as family breadwinner.

FOOTNOTES

*I want to thank two loyal research assistants, Kathleen Getz and Fraine Whitney, who retained their good humor and maintained my morale despite insistent deadlines and balky computers.

[1]Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Labor, 1965, p. 48.

[2]Ibid, p. 11.

[3]Ibid, p. 37.

[4]Ibid, p. 39.

[5]Ibid, p. 30, quoting Robert O. Blood and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1960, p. 34.

[6]Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," Daedalus, 95 (Winter, 1966), p. 209.

[7]Philip M. Hauser, "Demographic Factors in the Integration of the Negro," Daedalus, 94 (Fall, 1965), p. 867.

[8]See among others, St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," ibid., p. 786; Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 16; and Hylan Lewis, "Poverty and the Behavior of Low Income Families," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1964, p. 11.

[9]Lee Rainwater, Family Design: Marital Sexuality, Family Size and Contraception, Chicago: Aldine Press, 1965, p. 32.

[10]Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity," p. 192.

[11]Lee Rainwater, and William Yancey, "Black Families and the White House," Trans-Action, 3 (July/August 1966), pp. 2-11.

[12]Edwin C. Berry, "Conference Transcript," Daedalus, 95 (Winter, 1966), p. 291.

[13]Daniel P. Moynihan, "Employment, Income and the Negro Family," Daedalus, 94 (Fall, 1965) pp. 766-767.

[14]W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlation and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

[15]Joan Aldous, "Lower Class Males' Integration into Community and Family," paper presented before the Family Section of the Sixth World Congress of Sociology, 1966, p. 14.

[16]Four of the five census tracts samples were in the bottom quintiles on median family income and median years of school completed by persons twenty years of age and older. One census tract was in the second quintile on education. Three were in the top quintile on percentage of persons over five years of age not residing in the same residence in 1955 as in 1960. The other two tracts were in the third quintile.

Three were in the top quintile in percentage of population which was Negro, one was in the fourth quintile, and one in the bottom quintile. Four were in the top quintile on percentage of total employed who were laborers, service, and household workers, with the remaining tract in the fourth quintile. The latter tract was in the bottom quintile on income, education, and in the top quintile on per cent Negro. Four tracts were in the top quintile on percentage of total civilian labor force unemployed. The fifth tract was in the third quintile. Profile of Minneapolis Communities: An Inventory of Social Characteristics and Social Problems in the City of Minneapolis, Minneapolis: Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County, Inc., 1964.

[17] Six cases came from a random check of the city directory of a working class suburb. The original sample consisted of 204 blue collar men. For the present report the 17 nonwhites other than Negroes are not included nor are the unemployed white and Negro men. Two of the white men had been married less than 18 months and had no children. There was a turn-down rate of 22 per cent. Comparison of the characteristics of non-respondents who were willing to give some background information with those interviewed showed that they were more apt to be laborers. They were also more often white and more often lived in one-family dwellings than did the respondents.

[18] The men in the sample had a record of job security. Ninety-seven whites, and 37 Negroes, 80 per cent of both groups had held their jobs for over a year.

[19] The Husband's Communication Index was based on how often each respondent reported talking to his wife about a series of problems. They included the following: feeling depressed; health problems; work problems; money problems; and problems with relatives. His answers were weighted as follows: 0 - never; 1 - seldom; 2 - half the time; 3 - usually; 4 - always. The index consisted of the result when the summed weights of the problems were divided by the number of problems the respondent reported having.

[20] The Wife's Communication Index was much the same as the Husband's Communication Index. It consisted of the husbands' reports on how often their wives talked with them about the same list of problems plus an additional one on problems with children. The items were weighted in the same fashion, and the Index derived similarly.

[21] The Household Task Performance Index I consisted of the men's reports as to who did the following tasks: shopped for groceries; took dirty clothes to the coin laundry; took out garbage; prepared supper; borrowed money; disciplined children; paid bills; talked with the landlord or dealt with the mortgage company; did laundry at home; and got up with the children at night. Weighting points were assigned as follows: 0 - wife all the time; 1 - both do the task, but the wife more than the husband; 2 - husband as much as wife; 3 - both do, but the husband more than the wife; 4 - husband all the time. Scores on the Index resulted when the summed weights for the number of tasks the respondent reported he and/or his wife performed were divided by the number of tasks done. The scores ranged from zero through four. The Household Task Performance Index II was partly based on the man's answers as to who paid the family bills, and who talked with the landlord or dealt with the mortgage company. Two points were given when husband and wife performed the task together; one point if the husband did the chore most or all of the time; and zero points if the wife performed the task most or all of the time. The men also reported tasks they performed in addition to the ones

they were specifically asked about and received an additional one point for each with a limit of three points. The Index also included weights based on how recently the wife had asked for help as reported by the husband. He was given two points if he reported she requested help the day of the interview; one point for a request the week of the interview; and a zero for any other answer. The Index could range from zero through nine. The first Index, as was true of the first decision-making Index, permitted me to make some comparison between my findings and those of Blood and Wolfe, because of the overlap in item content. Robert O. Blood and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960.

[22]The Husband's Household Task Performance Index II in some analyses included an additional weight based on the respondents' answers to an unstructured question concerning the ways in which they helped with the children. For the Household Task Performance Index - Boys, men with sons were given one point if they reported disciplining their sons; two points for any other child care task they reported performing; and three points if they performed two or more child care tasks. Men with sons who performed no child care task, received no points. The same weighting procedure was followed with respondents' answers who had daughters for the Household Task Performance Index - Girls. The scores had a possible range of zero through 12. Men who did not have at least one son or one daughter living at home were eliminated from analyses with the respective Indexes. There were 35 of the 122 white men and seven of the 46 Negroes in the sample who did not have sons. Both within the white and Negro groups, men without sons more often had three or fewer children at home and earned $20 or more weekly for every family member than was true of men with sons. The age of the youngest child did not differentiate the groups. There were 41 whites and 10 Negroes without a daughter living at home. The white men without daughters were less apt to have families with more than four children living at home, and more apt to have children more than five years old than white men who did have daughters. They were also more likely than their racial peers to have weekly incomes per family member of $20 or over. The same set of characteristics, except for age of youngest child living at home, differentiated Negroes without daughters from Negroes who did have at least one daughter at home. The proportion of wives who were employed did not differ between men with and without sons or daughters either in the white or Negro group.

[23]The Decision-making Participation Index I consisted of the men's answers as to who made the following decisions: what to do when you go out; what bills to pay; whether to move; whether the wife should work; whether a family member is sick enough to call a doctor; how much to spend on clothing and whether to have children. The items were weighted as follows: 0 - wife all the time; 1 - both decide but the wife most of the time; 2 - both decide together; 3 - both decide, but the husband most of the time; and 4 - husband all the time. The Index consisted of the result when the weights for each item were summed and divided by the number of decisions made by the man and/or his wife. The scores could range from zero through four. The Husband's Decision-Making Participation Index II consisted of two parts. One part contained the man's reports as to who decided what bills to pay; whether the wife should work; and whether a member of the family was sick enough to call a doctor. Each item received two points when the decisions were made together; one point when the husband most often or always made the decision; and zero points if the wife most often or always made the decision. The Index also included weights based on how recently the husband re-

ported his wife asked him for advice. He received three points if he reported she asked him for advice the day of the interview; two points if he reported she had asked that week; and one point if he reported she requested advice the previous week. The Index could vary between zero and nine.

[24]Twenty-one Negroes (46 per cent) as compared with 29 whites (24 per cent) had weekly incomes of less than $100.

[25]This is not to say that father-led households are always most satisfactory, but under present normative conditions the husband-father who shirks his family responsibilities creates extra child care and home duties for his wife, duties which she is ill-prepared to fulfill. I am thinking here particularly of the socialization of boys into responsible adult occupational and family roles.